1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 [782] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains; seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. They are the exclusive [462] property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

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565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamazighth* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 **Pipers**,[1] or *imṯhiyasen* (singular *amṯhiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Turin, Ighsa Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
565 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2
463 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers**, *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *isheqairen* (singular *asheqair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession. [2] See below, p. 128 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

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623 692 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

685 *Theft of olives.* The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

●[782] 623 692 688 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692 *Providing for exiles from other fifths.* When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

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care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

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If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

BIRTH AND NAMING

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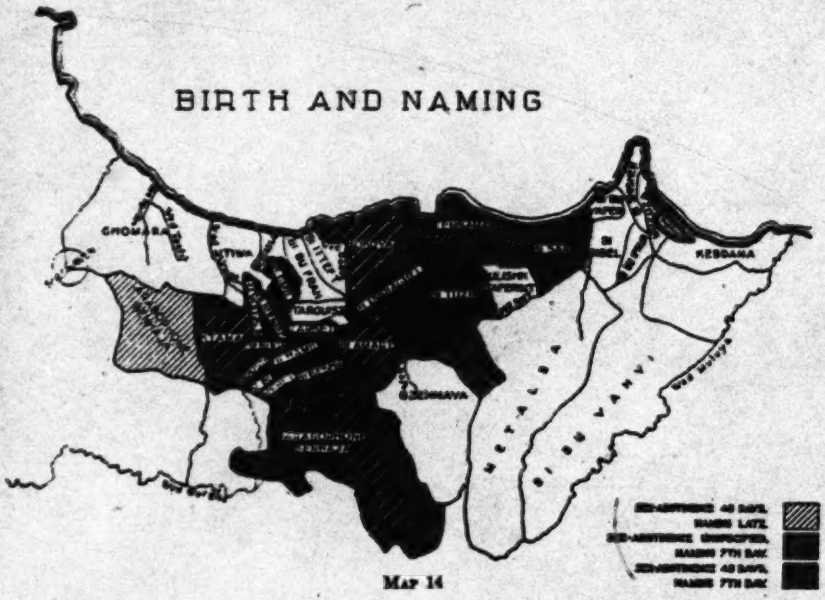

MAP 14

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Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

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Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekau*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

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This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

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CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 794 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *kone* of twenty-five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen. Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasised pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 32.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Tuzin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 199–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–158.

778 [823] [707] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [717] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 [737] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints.

411 [842] [755] Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[747] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [847] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[857] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [867] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

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823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmăn [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
789 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
●[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

784 778 834 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 784 778 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 778 782 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean; hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 272 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
● 782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

796 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and
782 feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and
singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of
[252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

1 [i.e. - sacrificial, - Analyst]

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755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly
782 hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

[128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade
787 of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 515 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 778 782 a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside [191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 778 [222] If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the village headmen.

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[155] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[196] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the [188] text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [182] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[196] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[124] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

616 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the
619 Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because
114 tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are not often those of the next!)

616 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side
728 which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it
184 involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality
● 782 is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 49-- Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to
[175] be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Amarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon hi[illegible] and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

(Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

[See p.306-- Analyst]

component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [574] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 68 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters
619 from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduci; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224
182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still
134 considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it
312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water;
262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market
262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of
782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be
224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting,
782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no
182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are
000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

L) Taboos:

224 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
782 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their
784 throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[75] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

224 262 782 783 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigNaryin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj [155] Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure [182] barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[791] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
553 tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
585 the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
844 sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
852
764

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
602 may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
782 (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
556 While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
574 bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553
574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
114 On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
553 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
574 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
602 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
(578) to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys.
574 Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
(571) ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to empha-
553 size their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of [593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as [464] [427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[954] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
• [782] where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
597 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and distribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

Before turning from religious activities to magical practices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
796 the dinoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The dinoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a dinoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the dinoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 dinoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the dinoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

751 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams.
435 Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic
241 directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed,
789 the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain
821 received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins
[533] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community,
[539] singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nis-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.
[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[71] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[72]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[73] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[74] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[75] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[76] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[71] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[72] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[73] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[74] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[75] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[76] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.